114 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could
121 not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a vil-
184 lage relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Oushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of
[164] encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku, and I was impressed
● [226] with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture
[324] did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections.
[361] It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region). After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realizing my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organized around four central
[128] subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organizations, education, and religion.

The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study
[311] would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions.

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas.

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Oushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Tuhigawa) is a boundary between Oushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa.

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village.

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagano is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Hinatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

[Text Continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

226 463 engaged in fishing are permanent or transient families originally from Itoman, a place name which comes up whenever fishing is mentioned anywhere in Okinawa. Agriculture and the care and utilization of the community forest make up the significant economic activities of the village.

162 Matsuda had a population of 1370 individuals (604 male, 766 female) as of November 30, 1951. There were, at this time, 243 households, an average of 5.6 persons per household. The village is said by local residents and antiquarians to be about 600 years old. If the age is correct, it must be one of the older settlements in northern Okinawa. Before the war, this village was known as Kochiya.

103 Matsuda also has its lore regarding shipwrecks and foreigners. There are old men who believe Perry's party came to the village and that they left carvings on the top of a picturesque rock in the Burushii district along the coast, a not unbelievable story since the explorers certainly were not far from here.

Near the seashore, but in a very remote area, there is a natural bridge, concealed by large trees. Roots of the banyan grow through the thirty or forty foot drop from the top of the bridge until they find root in the soil below. On a ledge under this bridge, there are two old and open boxes which were used to collect the skulls and bones of unknown persons. Locally it is believed that they are the remains of shipwrecked sailors, possibly Hollanders. There are still 25 or 30 skulls there, and many of the bones are scattered on the ground. The place is seldom visited.

361 133 The village rests on low rolling hills. The combination of the hills, the depressions, the caves and the sinks give the topography an uneven almost rugged character. There are few flat places and these are seldom wide. They are the narrow meadows or valleys between the hills. 241 311 The hilly nature of the surroundings determines to a large extent the manner of cultivation, and historically probably has had much to do with the shapes of the individual parcels themselves. One does not see in this area the plains or small valleys with rice cultivation that is observed in Haneji township near Nago or around the island of U in Tamagusuku township, or even in the Hanashiro area of Gushichan township. In these communities, the normal pattern of cultivation is that the rice is on the lowlands, with the slopes and upland areas devoted to sugar cane, the sweet potato, or other crops, or left to native grasses. Here in the hundreds of small hills, all of these may be observed in close proximity, hard work and minute tillage comprising with the topography.

261 311 The village is subdivided into several distinct areas: (1) the main part of the village where most of the houses, the village office, the small stores, the rice mill, the sawmill, the power plant, and the barbershop are located, (2) a reclaimed area known locally as the kaikon, newly settled and with a different type of land use due to the poorness of the land and to the fact that it is a deforested area, (3) a district near the sea coast and along the sea with scattered settlements, isolated houses, and some cultivation, and (4) the forest lands, which in the

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity.

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom.

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields.

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays.

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a

226 461 month. The decline in opportunity is due, not to the weather, but to the scarcity of fish, which are said to move from these coastal waters during the winter season.

226 221 The fishermen follow the lunar calendar. The type of fish caught is determined by the season. There is some specialisation based on age and experience. Only the skilled and relatively young can successfully make a living diving for the lobster and disengaging him from the rocks [434] below. The most intense activity is during the summer months, and the cash earnings of the fishermen are greatest at this time.

226 821 Fishermen pay attention to the weather and to the moon. Part of their weather knowledge comes from traditional lore, part from observation, part from the modern storm warning systems. Fishermen do not go out if there are storm clouds overhead, especially if they are moving fast. The worst sign is an increase in the height of the waves, even if the weather is good. The phases of the moon are also considered. The half moon is the best, the quarter moon is good, but neither a full moon nor a moonless night is considered favorable. The exception is fishing for white cuttle fish, caught on winter moonlit nights. At present, official storm warning signals are universally observed. The red flag flying from a pole on the main street near the breakwater is enough to keep every fisherman at home. This faith in meteorology has not always existed. Even in recent years, fishermen have disregarded the warnings because of disbelief, or ignored them when storms did not appear following a previous warning.

226 Fishing in the Hinatogawa area is coastal (if we include distances up to twelve miles out) and is on a small scale. Much of the gear is improvised by the fishermen themselves. The methods are simple and effective, and the boats are small. This is not one of the most important fishing areas in Ryukyuan waters.[1]

226 868 [813] Men become fishermen by imitating their skilled elders. Knowledge of the fish and of the waters is imparted by word of mouth. The old men are the sources of the detailed knowledge of the currents and of the main fishing grounds, and this knowledge, held in the memory, is also transmitted orally. There are no maps or charts. Usually it takes a beginner about two years to become acquainted with the fishing areas, and about three years to have a working knowledge of the currents.

1 For a general discussion, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu Area. (U.S. Dept. of the Interior. Fish and Wildlife Service. Fishing Leaflet 333), Washington, 1949. This work has an interesting collection of maps and drawings of various types of nets. It is not concerned with particular areas in Okinawa, nor with customs connected with fishing.

The time at which a young man becomes a full fledged fisherman depends on his own ability and progress. Age is not a criterion of skill after a young man has had experience. Perhaps when he is 24, a young man can handle every phase of the work, including catching the swordfish. It is common for a young and an old man to work together, the one as master, the other as novice. There is no stated apprenticeship period. In bad weather, or in rough seas, only the unusually apt young fisherman is allowed to bring in a large fish by himself because of the danger of capsizing.

2

Types of Boats

All boats are now motor driven. There are 42 in the village, 41 of which are small skiffs. Three types of boats are distinguished: (1) the hatsudōki. This is little more than a good sized motorboat with a cabin. It carries about 8 men. There is one in the village. The small scale individualized character of fishing here is indicated by the smallness of the remaining craft. (2) the kuribune (literally, "hollowed out boat," from the verb kuru, to carve or to hollow out). Properly speaking, it is a boat carved out of a log, usually of the Japanese redwood (sugi) imported from Japan, but the term is extended to mean any small boat. This type has largely disappeared, and only one remains in the village. The hollowed out boat seems, in this area at least, to have become a lost art. It has been displaced by (3) the hagibune (jointed, pieced together boat). This is also made from the Japanese redwood and is constructed, often by the fishermen themselves, out of planks about 2 1/2 inches thick. There were 40 of these hagibune in January 1952. The number is never constant due to new building, losses at sea, or on shore from typhoon destruction.

These small boats do not require much maintenance. At typhoon times, they are lifted from the shore up over the breakwater and lashed down on the side of the road. This may not avoid destruction. If the breaking waves are high and strong, they crush the breakwater, hurling its stones against the boats. Every two months, the boats are thoroughly treated by rubbing with shark oil. Cracks and small holes are repaired with small wooden plugs, called fundu in Okinawan. These are shaped like a stylized butterfly. They are inserted in the bottom of the sides of the boats across the running planks, that is, against the grain.

3

Common Fish and How They Are Caught

In this area, many different kinds of fish are caught, but the following discussion is limited to the most plentiful and economically

● 226 most important.

226 136 [227] (1) The sword or spearfish (kajiki in Japanese, akitaro in Okinawan). This fish (some specimens reach 450 pounds) is caught from May through September. Fishermen go about 12 miles out for the catch. A wire leader 15 feet long with a hook is attached to a 1400 foot braided cord line about 3/16 of an inch in diameter. The line is gradually played out after the initial 700 feet are lowered. Swordfish fishing is done in the daytime. The fish is said to be scarce at night. The hook is about 2 1/2 inches long. 262 [435] [432] The swordfish is considered the most delicious of fish. It is expensive, selling from Y50 to Y100 per kin (slightly over 1.3 pounds) depending on season and supply; consequently, fishermen sell rather than eat it, except in times of oversupply. Large fish are usually cut up before being sent to market; the small ones are sent whole. The swordfish is ordinarily eaten fresh. The favorite method of [252] preparation is to fry it after dipping a slice in a batter of flour, dried milk and water. Occasionally it is eaten raw as sashimi. Dried swordfish is considered a delicacy. Unlike the shark, the fins (hane) are not dried.

226 136 [227] (2) The tunny (subinouo in Japanese, subi in Okinawan). This fish is caught between April and November. There there are two ways of catching the fish, depending on the type of boat. If the large boat, the hatsudōki, is used a long line with as many as 200 hooks set 75 feet apart is used. At intervals of every three hooks, there are buoys with flags (hata). These flags, alternately white and red, are about the size of a large handkerchief. In another arrangement, the buoys may also alternate with the flags. The same line and wire leader used for the swordfish are employed with tunny catching, but the hook is smaller. When submerged the hooks are at various depths, their paths describing semi-circles from buoy to buoy. Lines may be pulled in from one to four times a day, depending on the biting. The bobbing of the buoys and the flags indicates the biting and the probable catch. A fishing party remains out for three days, leaving at five in the evening, returning about ten in the evening of the second day.

The small boats use two lines, the longer going down from the center of the boat, the shorter near one end. The method of catching the tunny is the same as that for the swordfish. In night fishing, the line might be lowered fifty feet, gradually playing out ten feet at a time. Tunny fishing is mostly a night catch. The line during night operations may be let out 700 feet, and, in the day 350 feet.

(3) The shark (fuka in Japanese). This fish is caught in the same way as the tunny. Fishing takes place both during the day and night. On the small boats, the line and its 15 foot leader with one hook, is about 840 feet long, and the entire length is let out.

(4) The mackerel (hishisaba). The main season for catching the mackerel is from March through May. These fish, usually weighing about 30 pounds, are caught by divers who seek the fish out while it is sleeping under stones. A strong line is tied around the tail and the fish is pulled up on board. There it is killed with a short

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handled round-bladed knife, the mackerel knife (sabakatana). The fish is caught in the daytime. The diver does not use a flashlight. He uses thick goggles and he may dive to a depth of fifty feet. Fishermen usually are able to continue in this work until they are about forty, after which they stop diving.

(5) The red snapper (akatai in Japanese, machi in Okinawan). This is a winter catch from September to April. Little is caught in the summer, as the fish spoils too easily without ice. It is also a daytime catch, the fishermen usually going about six miles out and fishing from 8 in the morning until 8 at night. Large fish average about 7 pounds, small 2 pounds, with a 100 pound catch for one boat considered a fair catch. The fish is caught with a hook and line. Lines in the skiffs go about 1000 feet down to the rocks.

(6) The flying fish (tobiuo in Japanese, tubū in Okinawan). The season extends from October to April. Flying fish are very numerous in March and April. A large specimen is about one pound, a small one about half a pound. This is also a night catch. The net (tobiuami) is about 4000 feet long. It consists of about 16 small nets, each about 250 feet long, joined together. The top of the net has small pieces of wood made from a tree locally called the angi, the same tree from which the wooden clogs (geta) are made. These small pieces of wood are about 7 sun (8.4 inches) long with about one shaku (about one foot) interval between. On the bottom of the net are small lead weights or shells. As the fish fly, their heads strike the net, and are caught in its loops and held there.

(7) The cuttlefish (ika in Japanese and Okinawan). This fish is sought at night during the late summer and early fall. It is attracted by an ika lamp (ikarampu), placed on the bow of the boat. These lamps may be bought in the small shops of the fishing village. The fish, attracted to the light, are caught with hooks, 8 of which, arranged like the petals of a flower, are attached to a bamboo stick about 3 feet long. (Fig. 1).

(8) The white cuttlefish (shiroika in Japanese, siruika in Okinawan). This fish is caught from fall to spring on moonlight nights. The season lasts from the 8th to the 3rd lunar months. It is caught with a home made lure (yesa). This particular kind of lure is known as the ikauo in Japanese, the ikaiyu in Okinawan. (Fig. 2). Sometimes the lure is painted blue and white; sometimes it is a dark brown. On the tail are two sets of 8 pointed hooks in petal formation, like the cuttlefish hook, though very much smaller. These lures are made by the fishermen during winter nights. It takes about 4 hours to carve one. Two woods are favorites for the lure: camphor (kusanoki) whose supply imported from Formosa is now being gradually exhausted, and the chagi (Okinawan), a tree from the northern district of Okinawa.

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(9) The lobster, (ebi in Japanese, ibi in Okinawan). Catching the lobster is the work of young men, usually up to 24 years of age. A man over 35 may be too old for the hard work involved. Occasionally in summer older men engage in part time lobster catching. The fisherman secures a flashlight, covered with sheet rubber, around his left wrist with a strong rubber band. The rubber casing for the flashlight [207] is often an old bicycle inner tube. The light can be turned on or off without removing the tubing. In his right hand, the diver holds a hook (ebikake in Japanese, ibikakiya in Okinawan) over 25 inches long, which he uses to dislodge the lobsters from the rocks below. Often fishermen remain in the water for three hours, the period depending on the season, the potential catch, and on how cold the fisherman becomes. The diver wears only a pair of shorts. The lobster is a year round catch, though there are few in winter. The full moon is considered bad for lobster fishing. It is not known exactly how lobster were caught in the days before flashlights. Some old men said that nets were used.

[432] On a good day, one small boat with three or four men, can catch
[A74] 150 pounds of lobster. It is not eaten frequently by the villagers, but sold to the large fishing co-operative association (Suisankumiai-rengokai). The hard and disagreeable work makes the lobster expensive.
[435] At present the local market is sensitive to the tastes of the Americans
[A34] in Okinawa. Weekly estimates of probable demand are furnished by the central office of the association to the local head of the fisherman's association, who in turn informs the fishermen. The lobster is con-
[262] sidered a delicacy and is eaten only when there is a large catch and the demand is low.

(10) The seabream (taisakana in Japanese, akamasu in Okinawan). The seabream is caught with a home made device shaped like a Y with [227] a top bar: Ŷ. The base of the Y has a loop for the hook and line. These wire devices are known as yamaguchi in Okinawan though the younger fishermen call it the sarukan. The fish are caught by a series of these wire devices strung along a line with a sinker at the end. The success of the catch can be judged by lifting the line. An ordinary catch will bring fish on 3 out of the 5 hooks.

These are the main fish caught in this area. There are small catches of the bonito (katsuo), the dolphin or porpoise (iruka), and the shrimp (zakoebi), and a small octopus (tako). But these are rather infrequent. There are hundreds of other fish caught, especially of different smaller sardines (awaishi).

227 The wire devices used for catching the seabream can be used in varying sizes to catch many different types of fish. Some, such as the ones described, are used for the bonito, and very small ones are employed in catching sardines.

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3

Division of the Catch

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The division of the catch and the division of labor between the sexes in catching and distributing the fish are based on custom. In the memory of old grandmothers in the village, these customs today are substantially the same as they were in their childhood. The innovations since that time have been technical improvements such as flashlights for underwater diving, motors instead of sails or oars, boat building out of planks using modern hand tools rather than carving out logs, and manufactured fish hooks and gear. [178] [227] [50]

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The mechanics of dividing the catch depend on whether the boat is a small or a large one. In Minatogawa, all the boats except one are small so that the division is simple. With the larger boats, the custom is more involved, as more factors have to be considered.

In the case of the small boats, let us assume that there are two fishermen, the owner and a friend or relative. The value of the catch is ¥3500 with ¥100 expenses for gas and oil. The net value is thus ¥3400. This is divided three ways. The boat gets one share, and each of the fishermen gets a share. In this illustration, the boat owner gets two-thirds of the proceeds, one share as the owner of the boat, one share as a participating fisherman.

These partnerships are very fluid. No agreements are made in writing. Neither are there oral agreements to fish together for any definite period. The partnerships continue as long as the fishermen are compatible and form and dissolve without ceremony or formality. But a practical question does arise in the event of the illness of one of the fishermen.

In this case, a substitute is found for the duration of the regular fisherman's incapacity. This is informal and may be another friend or relative free to help out. The substitute gets the full share of the regular fisherman. In these partnerships, the owner of the boat pays for all repairs that cost money. The other gives his labor for repair and maintenance, such as oiling with shark oil, putting plugs in the holes or in weak spots, or assisting in carrying the boat to a safe place during typhoons.

The division of the catch in larger boats is also best explained by an example. Let us assume an eleven man crew with the corresponding shares:

A The Boat's Share
B The Captain
C The Engineer
D-J Fishermen
K The Cook

226 476 The boat, as in the previous example, is considered a person. The cook is usually a boy about 16 or 17 years old. If we further assume a catch valued at Y10,000, with a deduction of Y1000 for gas and oil, there is a remainder of Y9,000 to be divided. The boat's share, A, is 30%, or Y2700, with Y6300 for further distribution. The following formula is then applied to this remainder:

Captain	1.5 shares
Engineer	1.5 shares
Fishermen	7.0 shares, one for each of 7 men
Cook	0.7 shares
	10.7

The value of each share is Y588.78 (Y6300 divided by 10.7). If the amounts are rounded off, the final distribution is:

Captain	Y883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Engineer	883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Fishermen	4121	(1 x 588.78 x 7)
Cook	412	(0.7 x 588.78)
	Y6300	

The distribution takes place at the conclusion of a voyage. Obligations (giri) between the owner and the others, on these larger boats, are also based on custom. If a crew member is injured on a voyage and prevented from going on the next one, he receives a share for the voyage he was on, and some money, depending on the catch but not a full share, during convalescence. If a fisherman is ill and has been injured outside of his work, he does not receive this consideration.

5

Sale and Distribution of Fish

443 962 835 The sale and the distribution of fish is the work of women. Men occasionally do this, but their function is to catch the fish, maintain the boats and gear, and make the lures. The bulk of the fish is sold at Naha because the highest prices generally are paid there. This makes it difficult for adjacent villages to obtain fish, even in season. When the fish is especially plentiful and low in price at Naha, the women go to the agricultural villages of the interior. Fish are carried in baskets. The pre-war custom of carrying the fish basket on the head and walking from village to village, or to the railroad station at Kochinda, thence by rail to Naha, has given way to truck, bus, or the three wheeled cycle. Often in the evening, these cycles, which can seat six comfortably, are filled with eight or ten laughing and voluble women, and their fish, the vehicle chugging slowly and painfully up and then coasting down the grades.

000 One can infrequently observe women walking from Hinatogawa to

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

512 821 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming. [513] For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226 184 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Hinatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which [435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha, [251] and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through [439] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Hinatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

324 [458] Hinatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Hinatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by
[417] the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays
[262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every-
[438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most
[251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of
[443] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze
[417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have
[492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse
[434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre-
[427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The
[474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room.
[137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans
[462] have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry
[434] leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

●226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would
[554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife

can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders.

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems.

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago.

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers.

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm

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Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.

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[296]
[415]

[482]
[312]

Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

[243]

Boy harvesting.

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect. 197

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2] These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity. [621]

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it. [554] [177] [648] [177] [345] [554] [226]

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self-sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number [361] 197 105 [566] [565] [621]

[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
262 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans, and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
● [226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 54 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

621 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility.
[123] Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are